833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

833 It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual
789 contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen, Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde, N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/ /New Series/, Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [593] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /178 cont./ "The medicinal plants bowagang palili, parempasa', and lowe are all able to defend against evil." Palili means: "cause to get out of the way" (Ibid., p. 223) Parempa' means: "to ward off" (Ibid., p. 122). Of "lowe," Matthes states that it is an old name for the "nagasari," a shrub that was also used for fences (Ibid., p. 373). The word buagang has the same meaning. When a kampong head, after a theft, turned to someone with the words, "If the thief is found in your house, you yourself will also be punished," the reaction was: "buagang," that is to say, "May that misfortune not overcome me."

824 789

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the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded [824] in a special way (kalomping), and an appropriate number of pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji', literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel (padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this "good water" while a spell is uttered again.

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
534 with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533 beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

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2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color. Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

/186 cont./

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62. Nukana-kanami sallang saraka ripamminangngang; — You will recite the formulas of the bed;

63. tappau'-pau'mi pole bungabunga rikatinroannu. — the flowers in the bed spread their scent.

64. Nusipoke-poke genre, nusita'ba' rappo toa; — You will extend to each other the folded betel leaves, and you will throw ripe areca nuts to each other;

65. nusipattoa-toai, nusipa'loaloai, nusipattjammo-tjammoi; — you will grow old together, and you will live together until you are forgetful and toothless;

66. sitanro takkang, sibuttju' pa'dengka-dengka. — until you will give each other a cane and until you throw an areca pounder toward each other. /187/

67. Lino-linopi anging, pakkeke mappasisa'la'. — Only after everything has become quiet (when the wind has died down), will you be separated by death.

68. Numammana'-mana' sarre, — You will get children just like the sarre plant (1),

[824]

1. Names /sic/ of plants that are well known for their many offshoots and rapid increase.

69. numa'borong unti-djawa, — you will form a forest of of pisang djawa,

70. numattju'la' ase-bakka'. — you will have offshoots just like the rice plant that is called ase-bakka'.

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither. But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were, a game in which the young couple compete with each other, but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
[554] pared to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is un-
[522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people openly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven. There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts. If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her. "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first co mmon bath. Page 265.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

2: Wilken--688 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia
Makassar OG6

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goerve = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
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We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
● 824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on